1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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places. Beginning at the eastern opening of the circle, and going southward, westward, northward, and eastward again, the order in which the clans camped was as follows:—

1. Frozen, or plumes.
2. Those-who-water-their-horses-once-a-day.
3. Tendons.
4. Those-who-do-not-give-away, or buffalo-humps.
5. Opposite (or middle) Assiniboine.
6. Ugly-ones, or tent-poles worn smooth (from travel).
7. Bloods.
8. Fighting-alone.

Other names of clans, whose location in the camp-circle was not ascertained, and some of which, perhaps, are second names of clans enumerated above, are:—

Dusty-ones.
Coffee.
Weasel-skin head-dress.
Ka'hutyi (the name of a chief).
Poor-ones.
Berry-eaters.
Torn-trousers.
Gray-ones, or ash-colored.
Breech-cloths.
Night-hawks.

Anecdotes referring to incidents that are usually ridiculous accompany these names. The Smooth-worn-tent-pole people were so called, because the ends of their tent-poles, used as travois, were worn smooth from much travelling. The Tendon clan was so called, because one of this band had said that the tendons in the neck of a buffalo were good eating. The Frozen-people were so called, because, when they had hungry visitors in winter, they gave them frozen meat. Those-who-water-their-horses-once-a-day are said to have followed this practice so that their horses would gain flesh more quickly. The Opposite-Assiniboine, like the Assiniboine, were said to have had few horses, and the Fighting-alone were very warlike people. Those-who-do-not-give-away-without-return were considered stingy, and the Ugly-people were said not to have painted their faces.

FOOD AND HUNTING.

Like most of the other tribes of the Plains, the Gros Ventre subsisted almost entirely on the buffalo, and their culture depended to the usual degree upon this animal. The following scattering notes were obtained regarding the hunting of buffalo and other animals.

Buffalo enclosures used to be made of trees and forked limbs set in the ground in a half or three-quarter circle below a vertical bank. Extending over the country above the bank, a long chute of two rows of stone monuments was erected, behind which sat men. Other hunters drove the buffalo into the chute. Those behind the piles of stone rose up as the buffalo

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A plant called tyäñänou is used as perfume, as a wash for the hair, and as a minor medicine. Bunches of the plant were used as perfume. A tea boiled of it is thought to make the hair grow while perfuming it. Such a tea is also poured into the nostrils as a remedy for headache (specimen Museum No. 50–1920).

Niibyouäxtjin is used as perfume. The stems and leaves are chewed and applied to the body (specimen Museum No. 50–1853).

Tsaa"sübin is used as perfume. It is chewed, and rubbed on the hair (specimen Museum No. 50-1792).

One ingredient of incense is the callosity from the leg of a horse above the knee. This is cut up fine, and burned with sweet-grass. It is also worn on the body on a string.

Pine-nuts or other conifer-seeds are used for pemmican (specimen Museum No. 50–1913).

For embroidery, dark fibrous water-plants, at"hin (the Arapaho atahiina"), are used (specimen Museum No. 50-1891).

Quills are dyed yellow with a solution from a conifer-lichen, no doubt the widely used *Evernia vulpina*, called otsahaa" (specimen Museum No. 50-1873).

TRIBAL CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Gros Ventre ceremonial organization is akin to that of the Arapaho with such differences as would be expected from the differences in language and the period of separation of the two tribes. The fundamental feature of this organization, the grouping of men by ages and the observance of a series of a half-dozen ceremonies in order according to age, is common to the two tribes. The ceremonies vary somewhat, and in a few cases their names or order have been changed; but among both tribes there are about six regular consecutive men's ceremonies, one or two that are preliminary or somewhat outside of this series, a single ceremony for women corresponding to those for men, and the sun-dance, which is included by the Indians in the enumeration of their grouped ceremonies, but differs from the others in not being connected with age, or with any society-like association of individuals.

Among the Gros Ventre the dancing-lodge for these ceremonies — which is erected in the centre of the camp-circle, and, like this, opens to the east — is constructed of two large tents. The lodge is open above, and appears to be oval or round in shape. The dancers, before beginning the ceremony, secure old men, who are called their "grandfathers," and are their instruct-

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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The place of the biitaha^{n}wu is not certain, as no informants were found who would positively express themselves on this matter. It is universally regarded as having been the most sacred and most dangerous of all the ceremonies, these qualities being thought to have led to its abandonment before any of the other dances. It can probably be concluded from this that it was last in the series, and performed by the oldest men.

As among the Arapaho, but somewhat more clearly, each dance refers symbolically to a certain animal. This symbolism is as follows.

The fly-dance takes its name from flies or mosquitoes, and was given or instituted by a mosquito. During part of the ceremony the dancers imitate the actions of mosquitoes.

The crazy-dance has comparatively little reference to any animal. The participants, however, wear anklets of badger-skin, and an entire badger-skin is used in ceremonies at the time of starting the dancing.

The kit-fox lodge was given by the kit-foxes, and a kit-fox skin is used somewhat analogously to the badger-skin in the crazy-dance.

In the dog-dance the dancers of highest degree represent shaggy dogs. It is also said that the participants in the ceremony largely eat dogs during its course. Among the Arapaho a dog is said to have instituted this lodge, and the Gros Ventre have a similar myth.

In the nana^{n}naha^{n}w^{n} the dancers sing for the buffalo, and it is said that they always succeed in causing them to appear near the camp. Among the Arapaho the dancers represent both buffalo and prairie-chickens. The symbolic reference to prairie-chickens among the Gros Ventre is found in their sun-dance; their equivalent of the Arapaho rabbit-tent in this ceremony being called "prairie-chicken tent," and the singers in it "prairie-chickens" and "prairie-hens."

The biitaha^{n}w^{n}, as among the Arapaho, has connection with thunder. The dancers are painted over the body with dots which represent hail. If one of them violates the regulations of the dance, it is thought that it will begin to rain and that the offender may be struck by lightning. The Gros Ventre have an additional symbolic connection of their sun-dance with thunder, which is not strictly paralleled among the Arapaho.

The women in their dance among both tribes represent buffalo, and the actions gone through in this ceremony are in both tribes probably more directly imitative of the animals symbolized than in any of the men's ceremonies.

What has been said about the Arapaho in regard to the relation of the entire ceremonial organization to the lives of the men of the tribe, and in regard to the relative importance of the religious, military, and social functions of the age-companies constituting the organization, appears to apply

231
556 than in the actual production of raw materials. This was especially true of the young unmarried man who, though his ability to hunt was important, was even more anxious to establish his reputation for bravery.

Food

262 The Gros Ventres met their need for food very largely, but not exclusively, through a meat diet. Flesh of the buffalo was the meat par excellence and was considered by the Gros Ventres their "real food." To those who had been brought up on buffalo meat, beef was a poor substitute. It was said, by those who experienced the change of diet after the disappearance of the buffalo in 1884, that many of the older people "died of starvation" when deprived of buffalo meat. The Gros Ventres refused for a long time to accustom themselves to beef because "beef, even when fresh, smells so badly, and when we would see oxen slobber it turned our stomachs."

Buffalo meat, either fresh or dried, formed a major part of the dietary the year round. Each man had his own preference as to various parts of the buffalo. Charles Buckman, for instance, liked best the flanks, if fat, but some preferred the brisket. The tenderest part was the hump (withers) and the tenderloin was also a delicacy. Roast ribs, a whole rib for each person, were considered a most succulent feast and the embryo was highly appreciated. It was customary to eat raw the liver and manifolds dipped in blood and to drink some of the fresh blood. Nothing of the buffalo was wasted and every possible part was eaten even to the predigested vegetable food from the stomach and the soft inner part of the hoofs. The coagulated milk from a buffalo cow carrying young or nursing a calf was enjoyed by most, although it was reported that some individuals did not care particularly for it. [251] The guts were cleaned, dried, cooked and put away, and the lungs were sliced and dried. To be eaten with dried meat the back fat was cooked, and tallow was used in like manner. The bones were broken and boiled, and, after the grease was skimmed off and stored, the bone broth was used plain or with either blood or berries therein. 252 262

Pemmican was made from the base of the tenderloin, a long

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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strip on each side of the backbone. The meat was jerked, roasted a little and pounded. Then bone grease was kneaded into the pounded meat and occasionally berries, especially saskatoon berries, were put in. No further cooking was necessary and this preparation was very useful when they had to eat in a hurry, as, for example, at the Sacrifice Dance, when they didn't know at what moment some order might be given by the crier.

Rated next in the scale of foods valued by the Gros Ventres was the flesh of puppies. Although the flesh of grown dogs was consumed only in times of "famine," nursing pups were always considered a great delicacy. "These young pups are to us like chicken is for the whites, and that is why you see so many Indians with female dogs." In fact in former times the following method was used to assist a bitch which was having difficulty in bearing her litter: "One person would tie a rope around the bitch's neck and lead her around the lodge, while another would follow and, as they reached each of the four points of the compass, hit her on both hind-quarters with a moccasin filled with charcoal; by the time she reached the door again, the litter would come!"

The flesh and other edible parts of most of the animals hunted by the Gros Ventres were appreciated if there happened to be a dearth of buffalo, or as a welcome change during the winter months from the dried buffalo meat. As a rule these animals would be exploited for purposes other than for food. So far as additional meat diet is concerned, however, elk, deer, and antelope were the most important. Beaver probably came next. Prairie dogs, gophers, and several kinds of rabbit—cottontail, snowshoe, and jackrabbit—all were eaten in case of extremity, but these were ordinarily considered suitable trapping for children. Bear—black, brown and grizzly—were not sought, but should a hunter come across one, he killed it and the flesh was eaten, the grease being the only part that was to them worth storing. Some birds and their eggs were edible, such as duck, goose, grouse, prairie-chicken, and curlew.[8] There was a special use for meadowlark eggs.[9] Badger and porcupine were eaten, as also occasionally the young of wolves and coyote. The full-grown wolf and coyote, as well as fox,

[8] Eggs were a favorite food, according to Kroeber, 1908, p. 149.
[9] See p. 143.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

262 mountain lion, lynx, bobcat, and otter, never served as food.

[251] Of vegetable foods there was a variety, especially of berries and roots, many of which were gathered in large amounts and dried for winter use, either as seasoning in broths and soups, or to be mixed with grease. Currents, strawberries and raspberries were picked when ripe and only in sufficient quantities to meet daily needs. Juneberries, or service-berries, and gooseberries were dried and stored away in parfleshes. Bitterroot, wild onions and wild carrots were likewise preserved for winter use, as well as wild rhubarb stems. In July larb-berries, another name for which is bear-berries, and "plums" were ripe; and in August the choke-cherries and wild turnips were dried and pounded. In late August rose-berries were ready to eat, but were better after a touch of frost. There was no need of storing too many of these since they did not freeze and could be garnered all winter long. It is said that of all the berries and roots available, service-berries and choke-cherries, wild turnips and bitterroot, were the most important More of these were put up than of the others.

The yield of thorn-, rose- and larb-berries, of wild carrots and of wild rhubarb was always dependable. Other plants, however, were more erratic. For instance, one year there would be no chokecherries at all around Hays but plenty of them at Lodgepole, only ten miles distant; the next year the situation was as likely as not to be reversed. Moreover some plants grew only in a few localities at best. Red turnips or beet turnips, described as something like a radish, was one of those which was to be found only sporadically and in sandy places; the wild potato, another of the less common plants, grew only in the Sweet Grass Hills and in the Moccasin Mountains south of the Little Rockies, and around Billings.

262 222 Such additional foods were evidently of sufficient importance that the women occasionally ventured quite far from camp for berry-picking and root-digging expeditions, disregarding the very real danger of surprise by the enemy. That these edibles were not despised is suggested, too, by the fact that the digging-stick had a prominent place at the center pole in the Women's Lodge, although it is true that the principal concern in the rite centered about the buffalo.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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In April, when the sap rises, the Gros Ventres scraped the juice from the inner bark peeled from cottonwood and sometimes even from box-elder. They also chewed the gum from pines. Infusions of cherry bark or roots and peppermint were said to have been drunk as tea, but such concoctions were considered usually more in the nature of medicines.

So long as the Gros Ventres had the buffalo, relatively little in the way of foodstuffs from the white man were imported. Sugar, flour, occasional fresh fruits, coffee and tea were known and used to some extent after about 1855.[10] The possibility of obtaining whiskey, was, however, one of the items which determined the popularity of a given trading place. Incidentally, tobacco was an important item of trade after 1800, although prior to that time the Gros Ventres had raised their own.[11]

Clothing and Adornment

The importance of the buffalo in the economy of the Gros Ventres was as obvious in clothing and in shelter as it was in food. The buffalo robe, dressed with the hair on, was perhaps the most valuable article inasmuch as it was not only a regular part of their garb, but also was the main article of trade with the whites after about 1830. When decorated, it had high prestige value as a gift.

Seldom was the hide of a buffalo older than two years used for robes since the fur of those of greater age was usually scabby even in the fall when the coats were in best condition. It required the skin of a yearling to make a robe for a twelve-year-old, and the skins of calves made robes for smaller children. When the demand of the trade for robes was very great, the large wool blanket sometimes replaced the robe for wearing apparel and for bedding.

Most of the other articles of clothing were made from well-dressed deer, elk and antelope skins.[12] Deer and elk were more

[10] See p. 22.

[11] This tradition is confirmed by Cocking in 1772, who writes, p. 111, "The tobacco they use is their own planting which hath disagreable flavor. I have preserved a specimen." Kroeber's informants denied knowledge of the tradition.

[12] In 1854 Denig, pp. 464–65, describes the cloth bought for clothing for summer and fall wear, but states that a real hunter must have a buffalo robe, moccasins, mittens, cap, skin leggings and an extra buffalo robe.

than six poles would be so tied together, a strong line running through the holes, leaving a loop to go about the horses' neck. Another line was tied around the six, about in the middle, to hold the poles together as the horse dragged them through the water. A mounted horse could draw two sets of six poles across the river at one time, one set on each side, but could not take all the poles for a lodge on a single trip. Meat packed in skin bags was often lashed to the poles and did not suffer in transit. Occasionally older children rode across the river on these poles, and some people paddled across straddling a single log.

The same goods which we have described as used by the Gros Ventre to meet their needs for food, clothing, shelter and transportation were likewise used to meet many other needs. Cloth and clothing, feathers, ornaments, and so forth, were used as religious sacrifices and offerings. Food was used as payment or part-payment for services of those who helped in production of economic goods, or of those who cured diseases, acted in ceremonial capacity of one kind or another, as well as in meeting certain specific kinship obligations. Lodges might be painted in accordance with a supernatural vision, and, with the associated songs, were transferrable to others as ritual objects. Horses were used as payments of various kinds,—in connection with the bride price, to ceremonial grandfathers, and so on. There was thus no medium of exchange within the group and no strict classification into producer's goods as contrasted with consumer's goods is possible.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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439 wives had vowed to cover a Pipe, undoubtedly he would try to include in his purchases the requisite length of black cloth. Individuals of course differed. In view of their labor, the wives would expect to share in the return therefor which the husband was able to secure from the trader, but this expectation was not always met.[17]

The items thus obtained were consumed by the Gros Ventres in the same ways as those goods of their own manufacture—some being directly consumed, some entering into further production, and some being exchanged on the principle of gifts and of payments for services, and in gambling.

554 A man would accumulate a surplus only to expend it as
431 generously as possible in order to attain prestige. The person with
439 a reputation for generosity rose in public esteem, and was in turn the recipient of many gifts, whereas the man with only one horse and only one wife could not afford to meet the demands for hospitality and for generosity in other transactions, and thus could not profit by the system of indirect and deferred exchange.

262 Sharing of food was an important element in attaining prestige
574 through generosity. A person known to be stingy with food would
554 lack status. The ideal was often preached to children embodied in
867 such statements as the following: "If you have visitors, even though you don't have much food, give the last of it to them."

574 Should a male visitor drop in unexpectedly, the first thing a man did was to tell his wife to cook and she was expected to comply. How seriously this was regarded may be seen from the following case told by Singer: "One time my husband, Iron Bucket, went with a friend to visit the latter's brother. The sister-in-law was naturally a stingy woman and made no move to feed them. Her husband was sitting there fixing arrows and he told her: 'Hurry and cook. If you have nothing, ask for meat at one of the lodges.' This woman had a big shaggy head and sat there with her head bowed and her husband couldn't make her move. After a while, however, some meat was brought in from hunting, and this woman went out, got it and threw it down hard inside her lodge. She was mad. And instead of giving them in a nice way the manifolds and liver that they ordinarily eat first, she slung

[17] For a case in point, see p. 178.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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the contrary, held to be holy and given special care.[8] They mentioned nevertheless that women of child-bearing age refrained from eating the two strips of flesh along the anterior of the backbone of buffalo lest twins result.

Coming Daylight said that she had heard of cases in the old days where twins would be separated,—one kept by the parents and the other adopted by someone else. Personally, however, she did not approve of this policy and when her daughter-in-law gave birth to twins she told her: "Be proud of them. Dress them alike and they will grow up well. Don't think more of one than of the other." She gave the same advice to her granddaughter when she in turn bore twins. The advice was not heeded in this instance and both the granddaughter and her husband adored one and neglected the other so that Coming Daylight herself took the neglected one. These twins were not quite a year old when the one loved by its parents died.

A middle-aged woman said that she had always heard regarding twins that they should be treated just alike and that the mother should always take both wherever she went and never leave one behind. Her own experience was a sad one. When her twins were about seven months old, one of them got sick and she had to take it to the hospital. The people at Hays told her: "You shouldn't leave one twin here." She, however, wanted to stay with the sick one, but the doctors sent her home. The twin left in the hospital died and people told her: "You shouldn't have left one there without the other."

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The only indication from these two oldest women informants of belief in prenatal impression was the remark of Coming Daylight when telling the story of a young man who opened the belly of a deer he had killed and found therein two young, each of which had "human faces." She said: "So they concluded that even animals get afraid and the young are marked." A younger woman mentioned that she had heard that if a pregnant woman looks at some-

[8] Kroeber, 1908, p. 182, gives the special names by which twins were called.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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among men. It was a severe ordeal and the older men had no mercy on these youngsters. 857 868

Occasionally as training in bravery, the heart of a bear was taken raw and cut into small bits. After calling together the older boys and young men and lining them up, each one in turn was given a bit of the heart dipped in fresh blood and asked: "Well, are you going to have a brave heart?" Some were able to swallow it easily, but others could not stomach it. Those who were able to swallow and retain it were said to be the really brave ones.[8] [262]

It was indicated by many informants that in the old days a man would almost have to have had supernatural powers in order to be outstandingly successful in war or to achieve fame as a medicine man. In fact it was thought that supernatural powers could be helpful in many aspects of life including gambling and love. Guardians, however, used to warn the boys and young men under their care that "you can't get something for nothing." By this was meant that a person who accepted supernatural power would not live out his full span of life. Thus, according to The Boy, parents emphasized in training their sons that, rather than going on power quests, they should be ambitious to acquire fame and respect by developing their natural abilities. Nevertheless many sought and obtained supernatural powers, visions apparently often being vouchsafed in youth, although the power might not have been used until later in life. It was believed that those who accepted and used such supernatural powers died prematurely.[9] 787 798

Methods of Instruction

Oral instruction, or "lecturing," stands out in the Gros Ventre mind as the most important method of child training. All of our middle-aged and older informants agreed that some relative, often either the mother or the father, lectured their children almost every day, telling them what was right and what was wrong and "how to live." If boys and girls were present together, there were some subjects which could not be touched upon and would be reserved for fathers to speak about to their sons and for mothers 861

[8] It was said that, in the distant past, the heart of an enemy was so devoured by warriors. For historical confirmation, see Henry, v. 2, p. 734. [266]

[9] Full discussion of supernatural powers is given in Cooper Ms., 1949.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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CHAPTER X

OLD AGE AND DEATH

It is the opinion of the now aged Gros Ventres that the proportion of old persons was much greater in the past than it has been since they have taken up the white man's ways; and further, that the aged then retained their health and vigor to a greater degree.[1] One old woman stated that when she was young, there used to be many old people, but that they died off when there were no more buffalo. She added: "People lived to a good old age on the things that the Supreme Being provided,—roots, wild vegetables and fruits, dried meats and berries. In those days, too, they drank broth instead of tea and coffee. Old folks didn't lose their teeth then, although even young girls do nowadays. Their teeth eventually got worn down, but they seldom pulled them. In fact, if an old person should lose a tooth, he thought it was awful and was sure that he was ready for the grave. Furthermore, people didn't get white hair until they were ready for 'old age sleep'—very old people sleep most of the time—yet now one sees middle-aged and even younger people with gray hair like the whites have."

Status and Treatment of the Aged

It was believed that a person who had lived to a ripe old age had been privileged to do so by the Supreme Being. Therefore, they reasoned, if you are good to old people, these in turn will pray to the Supreme Being for your health, long life, and success. Children were instructed explicitly to be good to the aged,—to feed them, to clothe them, and to help them in difficulties,—as well as to seek out those so blessed and ask for their prayers. It was

[1] Allowance should of course be made for the fact that "old age" is a relative term. When it was said that young men were urged to marry "older experienced women," this referred to a woman of perhaps twenty to twenty-five. See pp. 171–72. A woman on the northern plains was "old" at forty, according to Denig, p. 513.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

793 although without the wild parsley, but we did not obtain details.

After ritual treatment of their wearing apparel, the new keeper 796 and co-keeper had to take off any ring, necklace or other personal adornment made of copper, iron or other metal, as the wearing [784] of metal adornments was forbidden them, apparently because such were from the whites. The two, but not the Pipe child, were each ritually invested with a necklace consisting of a large single shell on a string of twisted, not plaited, buckskin. The investure was done with three motions as if putting the necklace on, and at the third it was actually put on. Further the keeper, but not the co-[302] keeper, had to frame his hair over his forehead with a large pompadour, as a sign of distinction.[1]

[778] The new co-keeper also put some dried peppermint leaves mixed with poisonous wild parsley in a little buckskin sack which she then wore on her belt. This had a double purpose. First, the mixture being poisonous, she commanded respect. She must not be molested or even be bodily touched. Whoever molested or even [837] touched her would suffer fits or spasms or a paralytic stroke. Second, she must live a virtuous life and not run around with other [784] men. The co-keeper and keeper, as also the ex-co-keepers and ex-keepers, since they had all been consecrated with peppermint and fumigation could handle the wild parsley without danger, but the common people were not immune to its supposedly highly toxic effects.

On this second day a big feast was given. Most of the food 262 was provided by the new keeper and his relatives. That eaten 784 by the new keeper and co-keeper, who had been fasting from food and water since the time they were first siezed a good thirty or more hours previously, was provided by the ex-keepers.

At sundown the day's instruction ended. That night the new keeper and co-keeper, the ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers and two attendants slept in the double lodge, where the Pipe also remained.

Very early the next morning (or less probably late on the

[1] In 1948 The Boy added: "When a man became keeper, he ceased to comb his hair and it would get in all kinds of shapes and hang down. So he would take a bunch from the center and wind it round and round and tied that knot of hair around with a string. Whenever the keeper took off that string the people would be afraid!" [R.F.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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also to enhance their sacredness and intercessory role as well as their prestige in the eyes of the people. Gros Ventre character-ideals have a high rating to "strong-heartedness," ability to bear and forego, readiness to do without, "asceticism" in its looser sense of voluntary self-punishment. Making one's self "pitiful" through hardships and privations in order to excite the sympathy of and to obtain blessings from the supernatural beings was a basic procedure in Gros Ventre religious practice. The keeper and co-keeper were expected to be sacred and powerful intercessors and to be individuals of high character.

In general the keeper and co-keeper had to lead very restricted lives, largely cut off from free association with their tribesmen, most of the time kept within or close to their lodge where the Pipe hung, and occupied with their official duties.

In particular they were under many specific privations and prohibitions. Perhaps the most severe of these was the obligation of sending away and thus practically giving up all their children, even their favorite one, except the one chosen as Pipe child. And ordinarily Gros Ventre parents were extremely fond of and attached to their children.

The keeper and co-keeper could not eat birds or bird eggs of any kind, nor any part of the head, such as the tongue or brains, of any quadruped. According to one tradition they could eat the body but not the head of dogs; according to another, not even the body. On the occasion however of feasts connected with the Flat Pipe they could eat buffalo tongue. They apparently did not eat fish, but the eating of fish was uncommon anyhow among the Gros Ventres and some Gros Ventres did not eat it at all. There were other minor food taboos, according to The Boy, but he could not recall what they were.

The co-keeper was obliged to wear a robe or blanket all the time, no small inconvenience during the Montana summer when the temperature not infrequently rises to the 90's Fahrenheit in the shade around midday and the afternoon. The prohibition against the wearing of metal personal adornments by the keeper and co-keeper was previously noted.

The keeper and co-keeper were not allowed to comb their hair, nor to scratch their heads except with a scratching-stick. The

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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whipped themselves, especially on any part of their bodies where they felt sick, with buffalo tails attached to a handle. The keeper used a distinctive whip of a white or beaver buffalo tail. After the men inside had sweated a while, the two attendants, who had meanwhile remained lying face down outside, one at each side of the east door, raised the covers first of the east door and then of the west. After a little breathing spell, the covers were lowered again by the attendants, the west door cover first, water was splashed afresh, without song or ritual, on the hot rocks, and a second sweating period ensued. After this, a third one followed. Then those of the sweaters who wished took a plunge in the river, and all donned their clothing.

The offerings were then taken down from the offerings pole, and one of the assistants or some other good upright man was deputed by the keeper to take them away from camp to some knoll or mountain top or near some big rock, pray with them, and weight them down well with stones, or else, as a less common alternative, to carry them down to some stream and sink them in the water. Some of the offerings had been selected however for distribution to needy children.

No food of any kind was eaten by the participants during the seasonal sweat-lodge rite. When the whole seasonal rite itself was carried out on the three-day plan, the sweating ceremony lasted from early morning until near sundown, and was followed by a big meal.

After the sweating rite was over, the sweat-lodge was not torn down but was just left standing. Children were admonished by their elders not to play around it, and especially not to go inside it, lest they should grow slowly and be dwarfs for a long time. Even though such an abandoned sweat-lodge was still in good condition when a later seasonal rite happened to be held at the same camp site, neither the lodge or any part of it would be used again. An entirely new one would be erected.

In a three-day seasonal rite, the second part of it with the terminal feast occupied the whole or most of the third day; in the one-day rite, what remained of the day after the sweating was over. All of this second part of the rite took place in the keeper's lodge where the Flat Pipe was.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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782 *796 [262] [595]

Hunters returning from a successful buffalo chase would select pieces of kidney (a special delicacy) and ribs, and put them on top of the Pipe bundle. In recent times, money offerings occur. Offerings for the Pipe have become increasingly infrequent; offerings are now usually made instead by the Gros Ventres, all of whom are Catholics, to the Mission Church or at the Shrine of Our Lady of the Little Rockies on the Mission grounds.

A promise or vow to cover the Pipe, made silently or aloud, would be worded, "I vow to cover (or wrap) the Flat Pipe," rather than "I vow to give something to the Flat Pipe."

During our field work in 1940, when Coming Daylight was telling among other things what she knew of the Flat Pipe and its ritual, one evening (Aug. 16) she heard that her grandchild was seriously ill. Thereupon she went outside a little distance and holding both arms up, palms out, looking up and facing toward where the Flat Pipe was she spoke and prayed: "I am telling about you. I am telling everything straight. I suppose you hear everything, and must know that I am telling everything straight. I am telling the truth and nothing but the truth. Look at me. Have pity on me and upon all the rest of the people. Take away all bad things that go around here on earth. Have pity so my grandchild may get well. I promise to put a robe on you. I hear you value black more than anything, and that is what I shall get you. I hear my grandchild though still sick is better." In this case, as Coming Daylight explained, she was "talking right to the Pipe."

In a long discussion, a couple of days later (Aug. 20, 1940), with The Boy, he emphasized that while a person covering the Flat Pipe had great reverence for it and would address it by its own two names, Flat Pipe and Little Turtle, the Pipe itself was only a medium by which the Supreme Being was petitioned or thanked. A man, for instance, in sudden imminent danger would perhaps, praying in his heart and mind, mention only the Pipe, but he would know what the Pipe represented, namely, only a powerful means used so that his prayer would be hearkened to by the Supreme Being. We may add incidentally that mention in the course of this discussion of the Sinkaetk custom of praying to the sweat-lodge caused hearty laughter by The Boy and Thomas Main.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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*796 over and sat down with the principal vower and his grandfather and all six of them smoked the grandfather's filled pipe. When they had finished smoking, two young men selected for the purpose started to actually fell the tree. As soon as the tree began to totter, the four scouts shot at it and yelled, just as was done at the killing of an enemy in real warfare.

After the tree was "shot down," it was dragged in by the young men "soldiers," with much yelling and shooting, and was deposited at the spot where the Sacrifice Dance was to be held.

[262] Then a recess was taken and those not obliged to fast ate. The chief food eaten at the Sacrifice Dance was buffalo tongues and pemmican, both already prepared, which could be eaten in a hurry, for no one knew at what moment some order to be obeyed would be announced by the crier.

[593] After the recess the "soldiers" went out to get the other poles and the brush needed for the dance lodge. Each "soldier" would choose a woman, not his own wife, but "his sister-in-law, or any other woman of whom he was not bashful" to ride double with and accompany him. The women would dress up and stand outside their lodges waiting for the men to come along and put them on their horses. The woman sat on the saddle, the man riding behind her. Some women would run away so as to avoid going out with the men, "probably," Coming Daylight stated, "because these ones were afraid of their husbands." Coming Daylight herself had never so gone, but Singer had. "Some husbands," Singer commented, "were too jealous to allow their wives to go with other men to get branches for the Sacrifice Dance lodge."

*796 346 The poles and brush were brought in, and a number of hoisting props were made. These props were made each of two tent poles; to one end of each pole a single short transverse connecting thong was fastened. The two divisions of "soldiers" the "talls" and the "shorts," each then split up into two subdivisions making four subdivisions in all. At the call of the crier, "Get ready," these four subdivisions began to march toward the hole, previously dug, for the center pole which lay alongside, all singing their parade song. On the way toward the spot, each of the four subdivisions had a number of the double-pole hoisting props, each prop being carried

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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The main rites of the Crazy Dance extended over four days and four nights, and were followed by a period of "talking backward" and other "crazy" behavior by the dancers. Dancers did not fast during the dance, as did vowers during the Sacrifice Dance, but ate heartily. Large quantities of food were procured beforehand, and many puppies were killed and cooked to provide the delicacy, dog meat. The dancers, however, were not allowed to swim, bathe, or "touch water" during the Dance. If any dancer did so, Bha'a would get angry and there would be a big storm. On each of the four nights of the dance, the dancers slept in the Crazy Dance lodge, but after each night they went back home in the morning to paint up.

The Crazy Dance lodge was erected in the center of the camp circle, not far from the chief vower's tipi and executive headquarters. The "lodge" was an open roofless circular corral made of upright poles about 6 or 7 feet high stuck in the ground, with a wide opening to the south according to Coming Daylight, to the southeast according to The Boy and Thick. To the top of the poles were lashed tipi poles to make a railing. Over this railing were hung tipi covers, which lapped over on the ground inside the corral as a place on which to rest and sleep. The tipi covers needed—two, or three, or more, depending on the number of the vower's age-group who participated and hence on the size of the corral—were taken, without asking permission, by the dancers from enemy-friends belonging to the next older age-group of the dancers' own society, Stars or Wolves as the case might be.

Inside the corral, at the place of honor immediately to the right of the opening, according to The Boy, or opposite the opening according to Coming Daylight, a little sort of wickiup was put up. Here, as the ceremony started, sat the chief vower and here was kept the ritual badger skin. The crier(s) (and council of four?) also were in the wickiup, according to The Boy and Thick. Very little of what went on inside the wickiup was known to our informants.

The participant dancers sat in the corral on either side, the "talls" on the west, the "shorts" on the east, with their respective ritual grandfathers and wives,—the dancers in front, the grand-

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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in the operator. It was resorted to for various ailments; tuberculosis, dizziness and "logginess" were specifically mentioned by our informants. "If the ailment were located somewhere above the waist the patient was bled at the elbow joint on the upper surface of the arm; if somewhere below the waist, on top of the instep." One arm might be opened in spring, the other in the fall. In the procedure described by the Boy, before the incision was made, the patient would put his hand on the ground and hold his arm rather rigid, while the operator squeezed and at the same time rubbed down the upper arm until the blood vessel at the bend of the arm bulged. In a slightly different procedure described by Singer, the patient's upper arm was tied very tight and "the blood was worked down;" then the large blood vessel on the upper side of the elbow joint was pierced with a very sharp chip off an "onyx stone,"[8] and the blood would spurt out; when the patient was sufficiently bled, a bit of buffalo fur was scorched, put over the incision, and kept in place without any dressing. By bedtime everything would be "okay."

Certain individuals, such as Thick's wife, and Woman Chief, were more skillful than others at bloodletting. On one occasion Singer's husband said to her: "Come on now, I want you to bleed me." She started to do so but "just had to yell," at which he said: "Why anyone would think that it was you who were going to bleed." Coming Daylight was still more reluctant to perform the operation. "In fact, I could never do it," she said, "because I cannot stand the sight of blood."

A tattoo-like surgical treatment was described by Coming Daylight, although Gros Ventres did not practice decorative tattooing. "For a while," she said, "it seemed like my hand would come unjointed and I could not use it very well. They took a bunch of needles and pierced my hand where it was hurting me. They told me: 'Now if you don't eat anything fried, it won't turn blue.' After piercing my hand they put some root on it, and it never got sore." She added: "They do that to the head, too."

Lancing of the gums of children when teething, elsewhere de-

[8] Singer showed the stone she owned from which the chip is struck. It was a shiny black one, but we did not identify it.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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782 [white man above, Our Father] in our prayer, so you would return safe: 'Oh, White Man Above, Our Father, spare her life. If you are going to take anybody, we are willing that you should take us in her place. She is young and has children and lives happy. But we two are old and starved anyway, so if you want to take anybody, take us.'

"I told him: 'An operation is not dangerous if you have it in time.' Strangely enough both he and his wife died within a month. It was just like he had bought my life. I feel badly even now when I think of it. Their one son married one of my daughters. . . . Old man Magpie was one of the old timers."

782 264 Food offerings, except perhaps the puppy meat given the ancestral spirit helper, were typical "first-fruits" sacrifices, made before eating. These offerings were regularly made, as we have seen, before any more or less formal, festive or ritual meal partaken of by a group, and at least very commonly before even everyday family meals at home. The latter everyday usage is explained in the following statement of informants:

Charles Buckman: "Before eating, a piece of meat is held up and so offered to the Master of All, and then is put on the ground."

Coming Daylight: "Whenever they [the Gros Ventres] eat and in their ceremonies, they never eat right away, but have a prayer, like this [here she held up her right hand]: 'Now here it is, I promised you, Our Father, the One Traveling [sun], and the Last Child.'"

The little chunks of food given in this first-fruits sacrifice rite to the Last Child were "pushed in the dirt or ground and sort of covered up with a little dirt,"—in the indoor modern rite previously described, deposited in cracks in the plank flooring.

782 As appears from the foregoing accounts considerable minor variations occurred in this first-fruits rite at meals.

The only first-fruits sacrifice connected with hunting proper, as distinct from eating, was the piece of liver and bit of fat deposited, as a thank offering to Little Spirit, on the west side of killed game.

[252 261] Puppy meat was looked upon by the Gros Ventres as a delicacy. Cooked puppy meat was commonly offered as food to ghost helpers on their visits. After the puppy was killed, the hair was

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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singed off at a fire, and the insides taken out without skinning the animal; then it was quartered up and boiled.

In addition, Charles Buckman stated: "If a party went out to war and met the enemy, before the actual fighting began a man might promise to give grub and a feast to old people, and as part of the feast there had to be a dog,—a pup, of any color. After the party got back home [at the feast, before eating] four pieces of the dog meat were taken and held up and then set on [in] the ground, one each to the north, east, south and west. The pieces were held up as offered to God—in thanksgiving and as a prayer for future favors. Then the young man served the grub to the old people. Before eating they would say, 'O God, this young man has fulfilled the promise he made to you,' and they would pray for him."

What we may call, for want of a better name, sacrifices of person or somatic sacrifices, took three main forms: offerings of flesh, of finger joints, and of self-inflicted suffering and/or privation. Each of the first two is a sacrifice in the strict sense of the term; the third, in the broader sense. The gashing of arms, legs or face as a mourning custom was quite distinct in the Gros Ventre mind from the above flesh offering: it expressed sorrow, it was not in any sense a sacrifice or offering to the deceased. No sacrifices at all were connected with mourning. Nor were finger joints ever cut off as a mourning observance.[9]

In most instances recorded by us, these somatic sacrifices were made in fulfillment of vows for the cure or safety of a close relative of the vower,—as, it may be recalled, was the case with self-torturers in the Sacrifice Dance. There were exceptions however: in their respective quests for power, Bull Lodge cut off a finger joint, and Little Man, Al Chandler's adopted father, cut off bits of flesh; the other Little Man, Coming Daylight's husband, when suffering from hemorrhages and pains around the heart was told in dream that he would get well if he underwent solitary self-torture.

Women as well as men would make offerings of their flesh and finger joints. To judge from the records we obtained, the finger joint sacrifice was more frequently made by women than by men,

[9] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 205.

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

ghost, they could not refuse, at least not easily. And if they accepted the pipe, they committed themselves definitely.

The summoning rite was performed only at night, with the fire out, regardless of the severity of the weather, and in darkness. In the two narratives by The Boy appended infra the ghost helper spoke in the daytime, but had been summoned the preceding night. The rite was ordinarily performed in the performer's lodge, he being hidden out of sight of the clients or spectators behind a blanket-curtain hung up for this purpose to partition off a segment of the lodge. Away from the camp, the rite was sometimes performed in an emergency shelter or a sweat lodge. Before the rite, the clients got ready a pipe and tobacco, a dish of puppy meat (an earlier Gros Ventre delicacy), and other food, and at the appointed time for the rite brought these to the lodge of the ghost-possessor.

The performer was then bound with thongs. The four fingers (thumb too?) of each hand were tied tightly together by interlacing them (somewhat after the technique of wrapped or twined basketry), the hands were tied behind the back, he was rolled in his blanket and tied around securely with thongs, with only his head protruding, and then was deposited behind the blanket partition out of sight of the spectators.

It appears to have been a common practice for the performer to challenge the most skeptical member of the party, and ask him to do the tying. Various stories of skeptics were narrated to me.

On one occasion when the main body of the Gros Ventres, then at war with the Piegan (or Blackfoot), were camped on the east side of Judas River and a small band of them on the west side, the ghost helper of one of the Gros Ventres in the small band told them: "Tell the people to leave this small camp and go across the river to the big one, for the enemy is going to raid tonight." But many of the Gros Ventres of the small band said: "Ghosts are big liars. We are not cowards to run." Of the skeptics many remained, while about half crossed back to the big camp. About dawn, the enemy came as the ghost had predicted and nearly all who had remained at the small camp were massacred.

On another occasion when the Gros Ventres had (or were

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13 ●

Ventres' horses except those belonging to one man. This man loaned out his horses as far as they would go around to four of the Gros Ventres who went in pursuit of the Cree. 787 539

"Then that evening two of the other men, one of them my father, approached Bear Old Woman. They filled up a pipe just as you do when you go to someone to doctor you, offered it to the old woman, and asked her to find out from her ghost helper who stole the horses and where they were. Bear Old Woman, who had quite a temper, got angry right away as usual and pushed the pipe away as a sign of refusal. Finally one of the young fellows there, a relative of hers, said: 'Well, let me smoke it,' to force her to accept. She angrily grabbed the pipe and had to go through with the rite. When she took the pipe she rubbed her hands on the ground and rubbed dust on the pipe and offered a prayer before smoking. The pipe was then smoked by her and by the two men who had approached her. 787 539 791 [782]

"Then they began to get things ready. They killed a puppy, singed its hair off at a fire, took its insides out without skinning, quartered it up and boiled it. They put the boiled meat on a plate and got ready some other kinds of food to give to the old woman. Then the two men filled up a pipe and they together with two other men and with a 'servant' went to Bear Old Woman's lodge. On arriving there they set down the plate of dog meat near the head of her bed, the pipe between the incense hearth and the lodge fire, and the other dishes between the lodge fire and the door. [262 ● 252]

"When everything was arranged and Bear Old Woman was still sitting on her bed, she said: 'Whoever is the greatest unbeliever among you, come and tie me up.' One of the four volunteered. Then the old woman got up and went to a place just south of the head of the bed, to a little enclosure made by hanging up a blanket. He hobbled her four fingers (thumb too?) with sinew, interlacing it in and out of the four fingers of each hand. Then he tied her hands together behind her back and also hobbled her feet. She was lying on a robe. He gathered the robe around her and tied her with rawhide thongs until only her head stuck out of the robe. And so he left her lying on her

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
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Iruska.[5] In its diffusion it reached the Assiniboine from the Sioux, —Rodnick places the date at 1872,[6]—and the Assiniboine in turn passed it on to the Gros Ventres, sometime between the years 1875 and 1880. We arrive at this approximate dating by reckoning the age of a now venerable old Gros Ventre woman informant who witnessed the actual transfer when she herself was in her later twenties or possibly early thirties. From all the evidence at our command it is fairly certain that she was born between 1850 and 1855. This informant not only was an eye-witness of the adoption of the ceremony by the Gros Ventres but also participated actively, so far as a woman could, in both the earlier and later phases of the dance. Before giving details of the regalia, personnel, and procedures it might be well to insert at this point her account of the actual transfer.

"The Gros Ventres were camped on the Milk River. They were joined there by the Assiniboine and the two tribes remained together while the Assiniboine taught the Gros Ventres the Grass dance. The Gros Ventres had never had any dancing of that kind before and called it jokingly *inaetenin* (moving-buttocks) referring to the way they danced. The Assiniboine gave crow-belts (feather bustles) to each of two men, and likewise swords to two others. They needed one man as spear (fork) man and two as *atsa'an* (waiters, servants). They also gave the Gros Ventres a big drum and everything that goes with the dance. The visitors showed the different individuals how to use these various things and taught the songs and dances that went with each. But they didn't do all that for nothing! Of all the things they had to give away to the Assiniboine! Even food was included in the exchange. The Gros Ventres had an enormous quantity of food prepared and you should have seen the number of puppies we cooked. The Assiniboine surely liked those pups. That was the first Grass dance we ever had.

"Then we moved camp from the Milk River over toward the

[5] Wissler, loc. cit., cf. table opp. p. 868.

[6] Rodnick, David, The Fort Belknap Assiniboine of Montana, A study in culture change, New Haven, Conn., 1938, pp. 123–24.

The regalia were placed in front of their owners. Lay members sat around the sides.

The fire was near the center of the dancing-place and beside it the essential pot containing cooked dog flesh. The meat was prepared by first rolling the carcass in very hot ashes to singe off the hair and until the flesh was almost black, after which the entrails were removed and the meat boiled. Incidentally, the Gros Ventres were very fond of the flesh of puppies and used it in large quantities to supplement other types of food for feasts at various gatherings, including the Grass dance. The food for the feast, of which all present at the Grass dance partook, was heaped to the east of the fire.

In this setting the ceremonial eating of dog flesh, which involved the preliminary dancing with crow-belts, and so on, was carried out. We shall refer hereafter to this whole performance as the dog ritual because this is the core of the Grass dance proper wherever found and, so far as the Gros Ventres are concerned, remained essentially unchanged from the earlier through the later period. We use the term "ritual" without implying that there was any religious significance attached to the performance in the minds of the Gros Ventres. Connected therewith were a few sex prescriptions the violation of which were believed to be punished by vague misfortune, but that it had any deeper meaning for the Gros Ventres there is no evidence. On the contrary, their indifference toward possible symbolism, for instance, is illustrated by their acceptance at face value of the statement as to origin and meaning by an old Sioux from Fort Peck, Black Prairie Chicken, who claimed that he personally had created the Grass Dance, saying that he had "gotten his instructions" from a rooster; that the headdress of upstanding red-dyed deer hair represented the rooster's comb and that the so-called crow-belt was in reality a rooster's tail. My older informants knew this old man when he visited the Reservation many years ago, and they assured me that although the validity of his story was not questioned, it had had no effect. They maintained that when the dance was transferred to them, the Assiniboine had not mentioned

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
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gave away in his honor." When first adopted the Grass dance offered only one such opportunity—and a relatively minor one. As times changed, however, the Grass dance provided practically the sole occasion for gaining prestige while at the same time carrying out the old pattern of kinship obligation by enhancing the prestige of relatives.

The possibility in the later form of the Grass dance of paying for privileges, such as locking the door, or whipping those who did not get up to dance, gave further scope for the acquisition of prestige through liberality, as did also, of course, payments at transfer of office.

It was estimated by our informants that around 1900 as much as a thousand dollars in goods and cash changed hands at a single performance of the Grass dance. At that time it was not uncommon for the dance to be held at weekly intervals. So long as the Gros Ventre were relatively prosperous and had property to display and exchange according to the older patterns, the Grass dance continued to function. With increasing poverty, however, along with other factors such as the changing points of view and interests on the part of the younger generation, and the dying out of the older warriors, the Grass dance, the core of which was the dog ritual, gradually paled off leaving but the remnants of some of the round dances which had been added to the Grass dance as originally adopted from the Assiniboine.

Summary

Between 1875 and 1880 the Gros Ventres received the Grass dance from the Assiniboine. From the date of adoption up to about 1890 the Grass dance was performed only by members of one of the two soldier societies and the custodians of the ceremonial equipment were the officers. Offices were transferred among members according to the old Gros Ventre pattern.

The essential core of the Grass dance was the dog ritual, a ceremonial eating of dog flesh, carried out by the owners of the equipment with the assistance of four warriors selected from among the lay members. Other features of the program at each